1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey."

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither]," [12] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*).

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*).

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place.

[12] The green heart tree, *vesi*, is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

March to April and October to November. The Tahitian chestnut is ripe on Kambara between January and March and on Fulanga and Ongea between February and April. The main digging moons (*vulai kelikeli*) are March and April when yams, sweet yams, sweet potatoes, manioc, maize, and other garden products are ripe. The term *vulai kelikeli* is used to denote especially the time of the yam and sweet yam harvest. The sweet potato harvest lasts until about November on some islands and manioc may be cut almost all year round. March is the moon when the leaves dry (*vulai mangomango* or *vulai mbotambota*).

The other seven months of the year, which include the dry season, are designated as follows: "clearing" moons (*vulai werewere*) for yams and sweet yams are roughly from May to July and the "planting" moons (*vulai teitei*) for the same crops from June to August. September is the main "sprouting" moon (*vulai tumbutumbu*) and September and October are the "*ndrala* flower" moons (*vulai se ni ndrala*), and the main flowering season. October, the month when the *mbalolo* (p. 136) is expected to appear first, is the moon of "few *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo lailai*) and November, when the large mass of *mbalolo* are expected, is the moon of "many *mbalolo*" (*vulai mbalolo levu*).

SUBSISTENCE*

By Bernhard Tueting

Food Gathering

The gathering of food from the bush is considered indispensable everywhere in Lau, because dry years are frequent. But in years with normal rainfall most households produce enough garden foods. Households with little land or with few or indolent young men depend more upon gathering food than do more fortunate households. Most households of the Vuanikathu clan in Tokalau, Kambara, must collect food because they neglect their garden land. Vuanitavola clan in the same village needs to gather no food except greens, for the men of Vuanitavola work their lands well. The inhabitants of Fulanga and Ongea, where garden land is scarce, must gather food or increase their trade with other islands.

The inhabitants of Undu on Kambara have little garden land and seldom go to it because the food from the garden must be carried over a difficult path, or poled by canoe half way around the island. Since Undu has good bush land with many fruit trees, the natives gather larger quantities of wild fruit, nuts, and leaves than do the inhabitants of Tokalau, Lomatchi, and Nggalinggali. Tender green leaves are collected from the bush by the women of all

* This section includes food gathering, fishing, hunting, animal husbandry, and gardening.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the *ndawa*, the Tahitian chestnut (*ivi*), and the *vala* are gathered under the supervision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to [481] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder. [482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 262 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*), *yaumitha* (*Malaisia scandens*), *yangai*, *tarai*, important especially on Fulanga; *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu*, *mbau thana*, preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness, *mbawaki*, and *nggalaka*.

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia*, *Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[261] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[263] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab, which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and [483] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

to use the nets in water which is about neck high. One stick is held in either hand, the net is open, and the woman walks or dog paddles, watching the water. Suddenly she dives and makes a clever twist with the net. The fisherwoman comes to the surface, empties the net, kills the fish by biting its head, and puts it into the fish basket which is either tied to her waist or is standing on a rock nearby. If she is near the beach where the children are watching the fishing, she throws the fish onto the sand for them to kill. Frequently the children enter the water also and, while swimming toward the women, try to chase the fish into the nets by beating the surface. The *tatanga* is difficult work. For hours the women work in the glare of the sun and in the often cold salt water. The women say that when no protecting glasses were known the work was more difficult.

On Kambara the daily supply of fish is caught by the *tatanga* method. If one fisherwoman has no success and another has a good catch, it is divided, but as a rule the *tatanga* method is used for household fishing, and the catch is not shared. When used on Fulanga the *tatanga* method is called *suvimarini*. When the *tatanga* net (called *tavilaki* on Mothe) is used on Mothe, eye glasses are not worn as on Kambara and Fulanga, but the water is beaten and the fish are driven into the coral formations. Girls with their nets close in on them.

Vono. The *tatanga* net is also used by women in fishing by the *vono* method. When the tide starts to ebb they move with the net and a stick, sometimes a one-pronged spear, toward the reef. While the water is rushing over the reef toward the sea, narrow brook-like passages are closed off with a net. Three or more nets close larger passages, where the water is not too deep nor the current too strong. Clear sunshine and calm weather are needed, so that the fish may be seen. The women hold the net against the current only when a school of fish is approaching. The *vono* method often brings big fish into the net, and they are either beaten with a stick on the head or speared.

Volavola. In the *volavola* method a net is used to close the exit to a passage running through a rock formation. Some of the women go into the passage or onto the surrounding rocks and beat the water to chase the fish into the net.

Rarau. Women also use nets (*rarau*) about one fathom long to block caves and holes in the coral. The ends of the net are hooked to pointed rocks. The fish that do not enter the net are speared with a one-pronged spear.

Songo matana. At high tide a large net or many small ones are tied to roots of mangroves to enclose a part of the mangrove-growing waters. When the tide falls the retreating fish enter the nets. The *songo matana* method (literally, close the faces) is usually used by women, but men occasionally participate.

Mbekambeka. Parts of the mangrove-growing waters are fenced during low tide with mats of plaited coconut leaves (*mbekambeka*) by men and women. The fisher folk hold them until the water falls, then catch the fish by hand or spear them.

Lawa vuevue. The *lawa vuevue* (*lawa*, net; *vuevue*, beating) method is used at low tide, near the beach or reef in day time. The net used is rectangular, about 3 fathoms long and 1.5 fathoms wide. It is extended, like the *tatanga* net, by means of two sticks, one attached to either short side, and each stick is held by a woman. About four pairs of women bring their nets close together so that no fish may escape between them. Another group of women and children, about 70 meters from and opposite the net carriers, beat the water and move forward, chasing the fish toward the nets. This process is repeated often. The catch is divided evenly among the participating households. An old woman and her assistant sort and divide the fish.

Yathi. The *tatanga* nets are also used by women on Kambara to catch mullet (*kanathe*) at night by the *yathi* method. Silently three or more women walk along the beach at low tide, when the fish often come right to the edge of the shore, and listen for the well known splash of mullet. As soon as the splashing of a school is heard the women

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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226 In deeper pools they are poisoned. So that the waters will not be depleted the fish from the ponds are used only for special occasions, such as birth and death feasts, and installations.

Mothe has two creeks, each about 5 meters wide. Formerly, Mothe people caught many fish at the mouths of these creeks which empty into the lagoon, but they do not use this method today. At high tide the mouths of the creeks are deepened by sea water which brings the fish into the otherwise shallow creeks. The mouths are easily closed to hold the fish when the water has retreated. Other fish gather outside the wall and are speared during high tide.

SHELL FISHING

[262] Shell fishing is common on Fulanga where the floor of the lagoon seems paved with shellfish, which Fulangans seem to prefer to other fish. Daily the women are seen diving for shellfish. It is hard labor, requiring deep and long diving. Their faces blackened with soot, and equipped with a pointed, hard wood stick about 30 cm. long, women separate in the lagoon and swim about slowly. Before a woman dives, she breathes deeply, and under water she looks through her protecting glasses for shells adhering to the rocks. She [482] pries them off the rock with the stick and puts them into a basket tied around her waist. She stays under water two or three minutes.

A bivalve shellfish, called *kekewa*, is found only on the northwest side of Wangava lake at the entrance to a cave called Nggaranikekewa. It is a delicacy gladly accepted all over Lau in exchange for other produce. *Kekewa* fishing is done only by women at low tide.

MBALOLO

A sea worm (*Nereis*), living at the bottom of parts of the reef in Lau, periodically frees reproductive segments (*mbalolo*), greenish in color, about 15 cm. long and not thicker than 3 mm. Once during November the lagoon is filled with the *mbalolo*, while in October fewer usually appear. Hence October is called *vulai mbalolo lailai* (moon of few *mbalolo*) and November *vulai mbalolo levu* (moon of many *mbalolo*). As soon as someone discovers them he calls, "Mbalolo, mbalolo!" The village grows excited and men, women, and children run into the lagoon to drag baskets through the water. *Mbalolo* is either baked or boiled and served at a village feast.

LOBSTERS

In the lagoon near Marambo Island, which belongs to Undu, lobsters (*ura ni wai tui*) are picked out of the holes and shallow places at low tide.

SQUID LURING

The squid lure (*taukuita*), which is used only on Mothe, is similar in type to that of Samoa (described by Buck, 2, pp. 434-437).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

PREPARATION OF FOOD

In Lau there is one main meal a day which is eaten just after sundown. Left over food is eaten cold the next morning. In general, however, the Lauan eats throughout the day whatever he can find in the bush. Sometimes a morning meal is prepared and eaten between nine and eleven o'clock. Occasionally when the men are working in the village women boil a pot of manioc for them. When they are in the garden, however, the men often prepare garden produce in an earth oven for a morning meal. A man for whom communal work is done provides a small morning feast for the workers.

Most of the activities of each day are directed toward procuring enough food for the evening meal. During the greater part of the year on most islands the evening meal consists of steamed manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit, and greens boiled in coconut cream with or without fish. If there is no fish or meat the meal is considered poor.

From one to three closely related households within the same clan or subclan form a food group. They share a kitchen hut (kitchen huts have been introduced by the colonial government) and an earth oven, and prepare and eat their food together. Cooking arrangements may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household of a married son, his wife, and their children. Or they may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household consisting of the man's widowed sister and her children. (See table 1 and figure 3, K14, 15 and K19, 20.) Occasionally a single household has its own kitchen hut and earth oven (table 1; figure 3, K16, K21). Boiling was formerly done in the dwelling house on the hearth.

There is a strict sex division of labor in regard to the preparation of food in Lau, and there is a general division in the type of food prepared by each sex. Usually the men cook the food they have raised, such as garden produce, while the women cook the greens and fish they have procured. The men do the major part of the cooking including all the steaming, roasting, boiling with hot stones, preparing sweet puddings, and fermenting in salt water. The women do all the boiling in pots and fermenting by burial in the ground.

Fuel for the kitchen is gathered in the bush by the adolescent girls of each food group. The bundle of wood is strapped to the back by means of native rope. The rope is looped over the shoulder and under each arm and crossed over the bundle behind.

The cooking places of men and women are separate. The women do all their cooking in kitchen huts, usually located near the sleeping houses with which they are associated. The men use the earth ovens located on the edge of the village. The location and communal use of kitchens and earth ovens in Tokalau is shown in figure 3 (table 1). Women or uncircumcized boys are

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

342 mound. A slab of beach limestone is cut into a rectangular piece with a metal
333 adz. (Occasionally one edge of each slab is cut away, leaving a raised rectangle (*i uku uku*) to ornament the top of each upright.) Then one side of the slab is forced up by using a stick as a wedge. The whole slab is raised
● [482] to an upright position and lashed to a pole which is carried across the shoulders of two men to prevent breakage while wet and brittle. At the house site, the slab is dried in the sun before being set in position. Flat slabs are usually stacked, one on top of another, but they are occasionally placed upright in a row and crowned by a row of flat slabs extending to and around the edge of the mound, an arrangement considered especially attractive by the natives. The stone facing is filled in with earth.

342 The favored ascent to the foundation mound is by means of a stone-faced runway of earth gradually rising from the ground. A house usually has three runways, one leading to the main entrance and one to each side entrance. Some houses, especially on Mothe, have steps of stone or wood leading to the entrances.

Roof thatch. After the foundation mound of the house has been completed, the roof and then the walls are thatched. Usually pandanus leaves are used to thatch the roof of a dwelling house. The natives say that pandanus leaves are more durable than coconut, but they demand more labor. Coconut leaves are used to thatch the roofs of kitchen huts because fire dries out the thatch. They are also used for wall thatch.

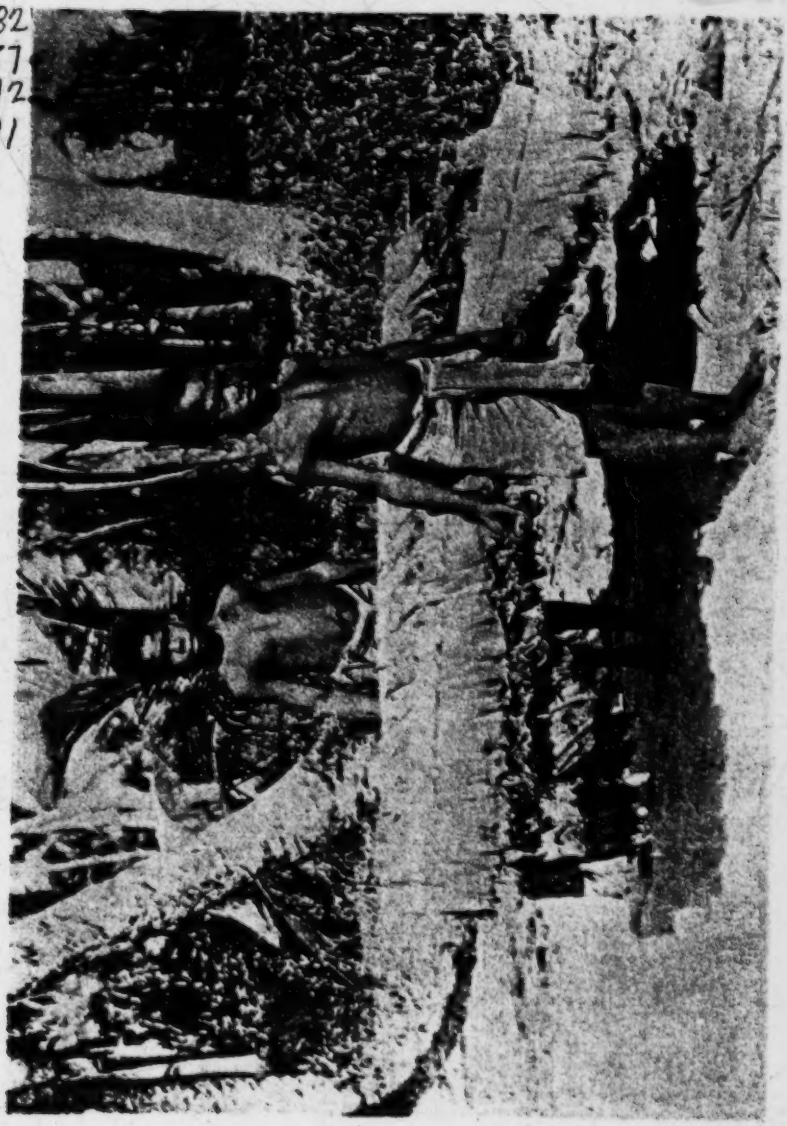
Roof thatch of pandanus is prepared as follows:

The men of the village, working in clan or subclan groups, cut the pandanus leaves and bundle them. The leaves are soaked in the lagoon under weights of stone or wood for about two hours, a process called *toni*. The leaves are then placed on the ground in bundles and covered with coconut leaves so that they may not dry too quickly and become brittle, a process called *ovuni* or *umbiumbi*. They are left for a day or two. Next the worker sits down in front of a round stick placed upright in the ground. Holding one end of a leaf in each hand, he loops it over the stick and, pulling one end and then the other toward him, softens the leaf by rubbing it against the stick, a process called *solo*. When the leaf is pliable he lets it drop. When several leaves have been softened they are tied in a bundle and set aside.

A length of thatch (*mbatchi ni rau*) is made by doubling a number of
[824] leaves longitudinally over a light rod (*i yavo*), consisting of either a *walaki* (*Flagellaria gigantea*) reed or piece split from a pandanus root. Rods made of pandanus root may be used a second time, whereas *walaki* rods must be renewed each time the house is thatched. The leaves are pinned together in place with long *vatchivatchi* stems (from which the leaves have been removed). The stems are inserted through holes made with a thin pointed stick of *mbau* wood or, recently, with an imported saddle maker's needle. The size and number of lengths of thatch are calculated beforehand by measuring the roof

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

482
857
142
291



BOYS AT WORK

Two pilos are carrying lengths of pandanus thatch ready to be lashed to the roof framework of a house.

[facing p. 44]

8: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938
OQ6 Lau OQ6
Levuka

women dug it at a depth of about thirty centimetres from the surface of the ground. It was carried in baskets *(kato mbolambola)* by young women to the village. Black sand, used for tempering, was obtained from Vatulingilingi, Waitambu. Each potter made pots in her own home. To make a pot *(tulituli)*, clay, sand, and water were mixed thoroughly on an old mat. Then a large lump of the clay, sufficient to make the entire pot, was rolled into a ball, flattened out and the edges built up into the walls of the pot. The clay was not rolled into coils. During the process of construction the pot rested on a ring of barkcloth, called *tonggi*. The outer surface of the pot was beaten with a wooden paddle, called *kau ni tulituli*, against a stone, called *vatu ni tulituli*, held inside the pot. Paddles and stones were of various sizes. Designs were incised on the rim or the wall-surface with *sasa* (midrib of coconut-leaflet). The pots were dried in the sun for a day or two and then fired. For firing, coconut-spathes were piled up and the pots were laid on their sides on the pile and covered with more coconut-spathes. The pile was lighted and if the fire was hot, the pots became red. They were fired for about two hours and then removed with a stick inserted into the opening. While the pots were still hot, a varnish made of *makandre*-gum was rubbed on the outside surface of the *vuluvulu* (basin)-type and *ndonggo* (mangrove) was rubbed on the outside surface of the *kuro* (cooking pot)-type. The following types of earthenware vessels were made in Levuka: *kuro*, a pot used for cooking, *vuluvulu*, a basin used for hand washing and *sangga*, a jar used for drinking water (Pl. A, fig. 3).

The Levuka women manufactured pots in Levuka for trade in the southern islands. They also accompanied their men, who were professional sailors and traders, to such islands as Kambara and Oneate, where suitable clay was to be found, and made pots on the islands to supply the local demand.

On Kambara, according to old informants, they lived in the village for which they were making pots. The clay was obtained from Matanimoko at the foot of Ndelaioloi near Lomatchi village. The men dug the clay and carried it in baskets to the village where the women were working.